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POLISH INDEPENDENT PRESS REVIEW

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1. Soviets Blamed for Polish Plane Crash

Two Polish underground papers have attributed the crash of a LOT Polish Airlines jet on May 9, which killed all 183 people on board, to the Soviet manufacturer of the Ilyushin 62M plane.

Tygodnik Mazowsze and *KOS*, two reputable underground papers published in Warsaw, recently reported that the Soviet manufacturer, having discovered that the roller bearings in the Ilyushin's turbine engines were defective, removed half of them, thus reducing the engine servicing time from 10,000 flight hours to 2,500 hours. The Soviets, however, neglected to tell those servicing the plane about the change, according to the papers, so that the planes continued to be serviced at the Soviet plant only after every 10,000 flight hours.

The New York-bound Ilyushin reported engine trouble 25 minutes after taking off from Warsaw's Okecie Airport and the pilot notified Warsaw that he was turning back. Both papers dismiss as unfounded rumors reports that the pilot, Captain Pawlaczyk, had been denied permission to land at a closer air base in Modlin. *KOS* reported that Warsaw's Okecie Airport was the only one in Poland with suitable fire extinguishing devices and therefore was more suitable than Modlin for an emergency landing.

The papers said that the outside port engine exploded when the rear roller bearings disintegrated, damaging a second engine and cutting through the plane's tail and hydraulic steering systems. *KOS* claimed that fuel leaking from the damaged second engine had set that engine alight and caused a fire to break out in the rear section of the plane; according to *KOS*, toward the end of the flight the entire tail section containing about five tons of fuel and all four engines was alight. (This version has been contested by Jacek Janczewski, an aviation expert in the USA, who said that this would have so heavily damaged the tail section that the plane would not have been able to fly as far as it did. Captain Pawlaczyk brought the disabled plane within two miles of Okecie Airport.)

The journals reported that panic broke out among passengers in the last minutes of the flight, when a fire broke out in the aft cabin. Trying to escape the smoke and flames, they rushed to the front cabin, throwing the aircraft off balance. At this point the plane nose-dived into the Kabaty Forest, just minutes away from Okecie Airport.

According to the journals, a Soviet investigating team in Warsaw tried to intimidate Polish LOT personnel into taking the blame for the crash. *KOS* reported that a Soviet engineer had said that Polish pilots and mechanics should be put in jail. It is not clear which pilots and mechanics the engineer had in mind. In any case, the journals said the Soviets had tried to prove that the roller bearings had been damaged during the crash

itself, but laboratory tests had shown evidence of slow wear and tear on the bearings.

Polish LOT personnel, recalling a previous attempt to blame the Polish pilot for the crash in 1980 of a similar Ilyushin plane in Warsaw, had threatened to strike, *KOS* said. (Janczewski, a member of the team that investigated the 1980 crash, confirmed that there had been attempts to intimidate the experts, but that public pressure in Poland had prevented the pilot from being blamed.)

KOS reported that the Soviet aircraft manufacturer had recalled all Polish-owned Ilyushin 62M planes and replaced all engines that had logged 2,500 flight hours or more. Chartered aircraft that were to fly Polish fishermen in Chile and Canada back to Poland were ordered to return to Warsaw empty, since their engines had exceeded 2,500 flight hours. *KOS* said, however, that no changes in the engines' design had been made.

Jacek Kalabinski

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- 1 *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, no. 211, 13 May 1987.
- 2 *KOS*, no. 12-13, 17 June 1987.

2. Soviet Dissidents Write to a Polish Opposition Group

The underground biweekly *Solidarnosc Walczaca* recently published a Polish translation of a letter from a Soviet "Group of Sympathizers of Fighting Solidarity" addressed to "all those who oppose communism in Poland" and written on behalf of "their Soviet supporters."¹

The letter was apparently prepared in Moscow and Leningrad in April 1987. Fighting Solidarity is an underground opposition group that emphasizes in its public statements the need for national sovereignty and a complete change of the political system rather than reform in Poland; it is separate from the mainstream Solidarity movement. The group has in the past issued appeals in Russian and Ukrainian aimed at Poland's Eastern neighbors. The letter in *Solidarnosc Walczaca*, the group's periodical, suggests that those appeals might have been received with some sympathy in the Soviet Union. Even so, it is not known who those "sympathizers" are or, indeed, how many of them there are. So far as can be determined, recent Polish opposition contacts with dissidents in the Soviet Union have been limited to cooperation with the pacifist Moscow Trust Group and to sporadic personal contacts.

The letter claimed that Mikhail Gorbachev's domestic policy of "limited reforms and changes" had been prompted by the leadership's realization of the Soviet system's "economic, political, and social bankruptcy." It went on to say that "the opponents of communism in the Soviet Union have no illusion about the character of those reforms," which were described as "cosmetic endeavors that do not affect the essence of totalitarianism but try to give it an aura of effectiveness and democracy." The letter emphasized, however, that the possible side-effects of the current policies "are producing the disintegration of obsolescent stereotypes" and may eventually "undermine the public perception of the infallibility of the party." It also claimed that those trends affected all groups in Soviet society, both professional and national, giving rise to hopes that "the last empire of the 20th century will soon collapse and that genuine independence will be restored to all the nations of Eastern Europe."

In this context, the letter claimed that the current Soviet developments had been made possible by the impact of Solidarity on the Soviet Union:

We all realize that the specific catalyst of the events taking place today in the USSR was the unprecedented revolutionary protest of Polish workers in 1980. The brief and turbulent time of Solidarity's legal existence is one of the more important reasons that forced the Kremlin leadership to look for solutions that would at least superficially humanize the system. . . . The traditional motto "for our freedom and yours" of many generations of Poles fighting for independence has never been more relevant than today. Gorbachev's reforms have Polish origins.

At the same time, the letter suggested that the current Soviet policies had "had a direct influence on public life in Poland"; and it added that the 1986 "amnesty" for political prisoners in Poland "could not have taken place without democratizing changes in the Soviet Union." It concluded with an appeal for "unity [between the Poles and the Soviets] in the struggle against communism."

It is difficult to evaluate the importance of the letter. Written by anonymous dissidents, it could well amount to no more than a mere expression of wishful thinking on the part of some individuals. More important still, the letter's assertion of the possibility of "a general ferment" within Soviet society that might be generated by the current policy of internal streamlining could well be grossly exaggerated. Indeed, the main significance of the letter may be that its publication might make some Polish opposition activists believe that what is happening in Poland affects political developments in other countries of the region. That belief has already been expressed in other underground publications, some of which have seen a link between the experience of Solidarity and the current Soviet developments.² In this, they may be right.

Anna Pomian

1 No. 13 (157), 21 June-5 July 1987.

2 *Wiadomosci*, no. 230, 8 March 1987.

3. An Independent Columnist on the Pope's Visit to Poland

Summary: *This is the full text of a commentary on the Pope's forthcoming visit to Poland by an author signing himself Jan Szymanowski. It was printed in the Warsaw weekly Wola.*

* * *

"Until you, eaters of bread, are turned into angels." Juliusz Slowacki, Testament Moj [My Testament].¹

Everything will be over by June 15. The sanitation department will sweep up the flowers strewn on the approaches to altars; someone will destroy the leaflets, no longer needed, that he had forgotten to distribute in all the excitement; Catholic papers will publish another questionnaire: "My Answer to the Pope's Words," or something along those lines; and Jozef Cardinal Glemp will start considering inviting John Paul again in a few years time.

And what about us? We shall roll up our banners and return to the daily grind. We shall return as one returns from a fete or a vacation--slightly rested, but basically the same, with the same problems, to the same places. As one returns from a splendid fete that was much too short.

The papal miracle will most probably happen again. For the space of seven days we shall transfer to a different Poland, we shall find ourselves among praying, singing, joyful people. We ourselves shall pray, sing, and rejoice. We shall take part in a phenomenal holiday.

Seven days is very little. A procession, even if it should go 10 times around the Palace of Culture, will not change the fact that Monday, June 15, will expose the whole illusion of the Sunday [the fact that in spite of the anticipated enthusiastic public response to the Pope's visit, everyday circumstances have not changed]. It will present the shallowness of a feast day that was only an intermezzo in the cruelly exhausting opera of communism.

Is there any way our preparations can change anything here? What can we do about that week in June?

In March 1983, Maciej Poleski [the pseudonym of the political essayist Czeslaw Bielecki] in his article "Program and Organization" considered the multiple variations of the political game arising from the impending visit by the Holy Father. Starting with the premise that "we must conduct the war games in such a way as to create successively more difficult conditions for the authorities," he tried to show that the

opposition must take definite steps to make it impossible for the Pope to accept any "conditions dictated by the Reds." Anyone who tried to imitate Poleski today would be ridiculous. What game, what variations, since it is obvious that nothing will change anyway? Even if John Paul II implemented the optimal model: received [Lech] Walesa in audience in the Wawel Castle [the former royal castle in Cracow] and heard the confession of General [Wojciech] Jaruzelski, his wife, and his daughter on a green meadow in the Tatra Mountains, this--as we all know--would solve nothing.

We might be well advised to ask ourselves who, in fact, the Pope is coming to visit. If we take it that it is Jaruzelski and his team, in order to speak to them in the name of an oppressed nation, there is little left for us to do. We should issue two or three statements and write a number of articles containing prognoses about papal homilies that are, in fact, our demands to the follower of St. Peter. That would be that. Oh, yes, and possibly practice chanting a few slogans (perhaps during the May Day demonstrations?) so that the Reds will know with whom they are dealing.

If, however, we assume that the Holy Father is simply coming to visit us, now this makes the matter much tougher. It presents us with a difficult task, for we have long forgotten how to listen to what the Pope says. In 1983 we knew much better than he himself what he should say (to the world, to the authorities, to Gilek, and to us, in order to cheer us up) and what he must not say. Today, we know nothing any more; but the obstacles are still the same, particularly in those of us that have become involved in post-Solidarity public activities. They arise chiefly from an attitude known as antitotalitarianism, which, as Adam Zagajewski [a poet in exile in Paris] wrote in his excellent essay "A High Wall",² deprives us of the opportunity for self-control:

Antitotalitarianism does not allow me to think ill of myself. It offers me the great freedom inherent in the challenge hurled against a mighty opponent, but it deprives me of the lesser, everyday freedom of passing judgment on myself. I know full well that I cannot possibly be as good as it would seem from the poems in which the angel combats the devil. Evil exists within me, not just within totalitarianism. The combat of good and evil takes place within me, the combat of instinct against values, of concentration against sloth, of lust against faithfulness, of self-interest against intransigence. Antitotalitarianism turns me into a quasi-angel, it whitens me more than Clorox ever could. . . . This is what worries me about it: that it locates the entire evil of this world in a single spot and thus absolves me from evil, in other words from sin, from the possibility of improvement, from responsibility, and thereby from reality. . . . Totalitarianism takes all sins upon itself and leaves only one choice to the individual: should one become totalitarian or not. [Cuts in the original.]

These thoughts are hardly a revelation and yet they lurk in our consciousness and are worth recalling today. Antitotalitarian angels can learn little from papal teachings. Apart from the reassurance that the Reds are naughty and Solidarity is OK, they expect no other spiritual fodder. And they might even be deprived of that. It would, therefore, be a question of turning angels into eaters of bread, bringing them down to earth, to normality. This is the paradoxical chance offered by the Vicar of Christ's visit. To turn angels into eaters of bread.

(A friend assures me that there are no longer any pure, angelic types: total antitotalitarians. That is not the point. The syndrome as described by Zagajewski lives in us still, more or less well concealed, more or less thought through. It is enough to look at our underground press.)

Someone will say that this kind of search for values presented by me here is nothing but a lowering of standards. It is obvious that with an appropriately programmed level of expectations, any meeting with John Paul II can be deemed a success. I think that this does not mean a lowering of standards but rather a change of approach. But can it guarantee the political success of the third pilgrimage? *Mon Dieu*, what can? The second papal visit was also won by the authorities, I really do not see why it should not be so this time. What decided the Reds' victory the last time? Surely not, as a letter writer in the September issue of the *Paris Kultura* (no.9, 1983) has it, the fact that Pope John Paul II called our homeland the Polish People's Republic. Quite simply, the Pope was let into the country when Solidarity was in its death throes; and any blessing, let me stress, any blessing given by the Holy Father would mean its Extreme Unction.

But, someone might protest, after its death Solidarity is living symbolically. Marvelous. A symbol is supposed to make one think. Yet what will be the meaning of the chant "*So-li-dar-nosc! So-li-dar-nosc!*" that some might shout after the great Mass, contrary to instructions that "we should all go home in prayerful thoughtfulness?" It will only mean that, if I may be permitted to quote the already overquoted Zbigniew Herbert [a leading modern poet],

We are on a junk heap in very strange poses
some with necks outstretched
others with mouths open, dripping homeland,
others with fists to the eyes
crumpled emphatically, pompously taut.

Let us fight our way into normality. Let us allow ourselves to be turned into eaters of bread. Only then will there be a chance, a shadow of a chance, that the words of the Pope will last beyond Monday, June 15. What words? I have no

idea, I really have no idea what one says to a nation where hope has died.

Translated by Nika Krzeczunowicz

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- 1 Juliusz Slowacki was one of the outstanding 19th century Polish poets; and his phrase on angels and "eaters of bread," meaning ordinary mortals, has entered everyday language. The article appeared in *Wola*, no.12 (218), 30 March 1987.
- 2 Adam Zagajewski, *Solidarnosc i Samotnosc* [Solidarity and Solitude--Essays], (Paris: Zeszyty Literackie, 1986).

4. Arts Festival Opens in Wroclaw

Summary: Independent festivals of the arts and literature have become a regular feature of Poland's cultural life; organized under the aegis of the pastoral communities in the larger cities, they provide an alternative meeting-point for artists and intellectuals to those organized under state patronage. One such festival for young people recently opened in Wroclaw.

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Pastoral communities for artists have existed in Poland since 1984. They are centers attached to certain churches in the larger and more culturally active cities of Poland. Such communities (*Duszpasterstwa Srodowisk Tworczych*) have over the years become significant meeting-points for artists and intellectuals and an alternative to those provided by the government. They flourish in such major centers as Cracow, Lodz, Warsaw, and Wroclaw; but their activities also extend to numerous smaller towns throughout the country. The communities provide the public with opportunities to become acquainted with works that official cultural bodies may find politically unacceptable.

The main thrust of the communities' work is, of course, focused on religious issues; but they also deal with other matters. Their members sometimes organize some form of assistance for those in need, for example, or even facilitate legal help when necessary. In some cases, parish halls or church premises are used for lectures, poetry readings, independent exhibitions (of painting, photography, sculpture, weaving, graphics), concerts, and theatrical events. In recent years the pastoral communities have also organized "Weeks of Christian Culture" at which well-known artists, writers, and intellectuals have given lectures or displayed their works.

In their patronage, the pastoral communities aim to present the Polish cultural tradition within a Christian framework. One of the infrequent criticisms leveled by independent critics at the notion of the Catholic Church's patronage of the arts is that in some cases such patronage stifles true artistic creativity, since various realms of cultural expression--such as the vulgar or erotic--remain excluded from church premises unless they are presented didactically: as an antithesis to the values that art should ostensibly present.¹ This has been countered by arguments that the Church sees its role as not unlike that in pre-Renaissance times, when the sacred and the secular coexisted and influenced each other.²

Typical of those activities was an arts festival organized at the end of May in Wroclaw under the patronage of the local

pastoral community. The festival--called "The Way and the Truth"--was held in honor of the third visit of Pope John Paul II to Poland in June this year and consisted of a symposium about different ways of looking at "independent culture and artistic freedom," a series of dramatic performances, and an exhibition of about 500 works of art (paintings, graphics, weaving, and photography); the exhibition included the works of some 140 young artists from all over Poland and is to last until September.³ This was the second such festival held in Wroclaw: the first, a "Biennale of Polish Youth" for which the upper age limit for participating artists was 35, had been held in 1985; the next one is planned for 1989.

The festival was patronized by the local Church hierarchy: the proceedings were opened by the Archbishop of Wroclaw, Henryk Cardinal Gulbinowicz, and all events were held in local churches. The two-day symposium gathered together several distinguished intellectuals and art critics, who gave public lectures and then discussed their arguments in four separate working seminars. The underground press that reported on the festival gave no details about either the lectures or the seminar discussions.

Among several dramatic productions presented during the festival was a work based on the poetry of Zbigniew Herbert, one of Poland's outstanding contemporary poets, and a monologue based on *The Captive Mind* by Czeslaw Milosz. All the plays were performed by young artists from independent groups from various parts of the country. Several artists who exhibited their works at the festival were presented with prizes and awards.

According to reports in underground papers, the festival attracted large numbers of visitors both from the local community and from other parts of the country. This says something about the organization of the event (the pastoral community in Wroclaw has long been regarded as particularly active in offering support to young independent artists). It also suggests that a considerable number of Poles are still determined to take part in cultural events organized independently of the government and that many of them regard such events as providing an alternative to those sponsored by the authorities.

Anna Pomian

- 1 *Przegląd Wiadomości Agencyjnych*, no. 42, 21 December 1986.
- 2 This view was presented by Father Wieslaw Nieweglowski, who is the leading chaplain of the artists' pastoral communities throughout Poland, in an interview in the Catholic paper *Przegląd Katolicki*, 18 November 1984.
- 3 *Przegląd Wiadomości Agencyjnych*, no. 22, 3 June 1987.

5. The State of Solidarity's Archives

Summary: Several volumes in a series of archives documenting the history of Solidarity have reached the West; they are part of an ambitious venture that has already produced some 20 titles of hitherto unpublished material. The series is aimed at historians, journalists, and sociologists.

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"One of the strategic aims of the martial law crackdown on 13 December 1981," claims the editorial preface to the Solidarity Archives series,¹ "was to take over the archives of Solidarity so that the movement would cease to exist both physically and in human memory." That aim was only partially realized; most of the documentary material pertaining to the Solidarity movement was saved and is now being published in a series that so far consists of about 20 titles; at least double that number will eventually appear.

How the Solidarity Archives Came About. At the very beginning of the martial law period, several opposition groups acting independently of one another conceived the notion of creating a Solidarity archive. They included both Solidarity members who were interned during the night of December 12-13 and others who had escaped detection. They realized that it was important to try to salvage as much documentary material as possible. Toward the end of 1982, these various groups succeeded together in saving most of Solidarity's records, both documents and tape-recordings, and started editing the material. The editors of the Solidarity Archives described their aim in assembling this material:²

Up to the time of Solidarity, no other movement had left behind such a vast store of documents and materials, which ought to be secured and preserved not only because they are an unusually valuable fragment of our country's history but also because they are a source of information for studies of communism and of the needs and aspirations of those societies under communist rule, which under normal conditions are unable to express them. The study of Solidarity's history is essential not only for present and future opposition movements in communist countries but also for Western political experts who are involved with Soviet bloc countries.

The aim of the documentation team of the Solidarity Archives, which cooperates with the independent publishing house NOWA, is to salvage and preserve at least part of the output of independent movements, and in particular of Solidarity. Our work consists of collecting and researching documents, analyses, and personal accounts and making them generally available.

In 1983 and 1984 most of the efforts of the documentation team were directed at ensuring the physical preservation of archival material; this involved duplicating texts, transcribing tape-recordings, and hiding them in safe houses. It was planned from the start that all important documents should be published. The project was approved by Solidarity's national leader, Lech Walesa, and was financed by the clandestine Interim Coordinating Commission (Polish acronym TKK). The NOWA publishing house agreed to take on the printing of the archive series and became a partner in the enterprise. The first volume in the Solidarity Archive series appeared in 1984, to mark the year in which George Orwell's hero worked at rewriting history.³

Content of the Archives. The Solidarity Archives series has three sections, which are being prepared and printed concurrently.⁴ The first section, Documents [*Dokumenty*], aims to provide source material for the entire history of Solidarity's legal existence. It is possible that at a future date this series will also include tape recordings of the meetings of the clandestine Interim Coordinating Commission, which have not been made available so far. The Documents series contains transcripts of talks held with the Polish authorities and meetings of the Solidarity leadership, including those of the National Consultative Commission and regional Solidarity bodies. It is estimated that work on this series will take about six or seven years; the first national congress held by Solidarity is expected to require 18 volumes.

Nine volumes in the Documents series have appeared to date; some have already been published or are being printed, others are available as microfilmed typescripts. They include minutes of meetings of the Solidarity National Commission; accounts of such important events as Solidarity's congress in Gdansk in 1981, the wave of strikes in Szczecin (which started shortly after those in Gdansk in August 1980), and the Bydgoszcz conflict in March 1981 in which Solidarity activists were mistreated by the police; and a volume by Zbigniew Bujak that includes his various statements and appeals and a retrospective view of the Solidarity movement.

The second series, Reports and Studies [*Relacje i Opracowania*] Studies] covers Solidarity's activities in the regions as opposed to those of the national leadership. They describe and analyze the 16 months of legal Solidarity as experienced by each region: they include a chronology of events as well as details of relations between Solidarity chapters and the local authorities. The volumes already published deal with the situation in Szczecin, Gdynia, and Wroclaw; volumes on Lodz, Poznan, Cracow, Lublin, and Katowice have been commissioned. Events in the Warsaw region have not yet been chronicled. This series also reports on the underground press, on the various strikes that took place, and on independent public organizations that came into being during the legal existence of Solidarity--for example, the Independent Students' Union and the

Independent Farmers' Union. The series will also include a report, to be published in 1987, on the trial of the murderers of Father Jerzy Popieluszko.

The third series, Poland Under Martial Law [*Polska Stanu Wojennego*] chronicles the two years of martial law; it includes documents and a chronology of events and concentrates on the political trials of opposition activists and the repressive tactics of the authorities. A study of the various forms of social resistance is also planned. So far the following have appeared: a report on the Torun region under martial law; an analysis of the underground press from 1981 to 1984; an account of the trial of the Solidarity Interfactory Workers' Committee [Polish acronym MRK"S"] in 1983; the trial of Janusz Palubicki, the former leader of Solidarity in the Poznan region and subsequently a member of the Interim Coordinating Commission; and a study of the strike in the Ziemowit coal mine, which took place from 15 to 24 December 1981, just after the declaration of martial law.

Technical Aspects and Future Plans. The editing and printing of the Solidarity Archives is clandestine. The authors contributing to the series have a written contract with the editors of the Solidarity Archives and provide footnotes and a bibliography. The editors prepare plates for the printers. Each volume in the series is first prepared as a typescript and then microfilmed. Initially, all the volumes were published by NOWA. Since the series is an extensive one, however, other publishing houses are also now involved. If there is any difficulty in finding a publisher for a particular volume--such an undertaking requires large amounts of paper--the volume remains in microfilmed form and is sold as such.

The Solidarity Archives series has aroused considerable interest in the West. The editors of the series will only send completed microfilms or printed volumes to the West, however, not documents that have not yet been analyzed. Those who are involved in the production of the series see themselves as carrying out the functions of an historical institute: they not only collect material that is destined for publication but also a variety of documents, reports, and biographical information that now constitute an extensive Solidarity data base. It is not intended to produce analytical reports but only to provide raw material for historians, journalists, sociologists, and essayists both in Poland and the West. The series is being edited by professional historians, economists, and sociologists. The Solidarity Archives team has appealed for more authors and publishers to come forward and for all those who have documentary material in their homes to make it available to them.

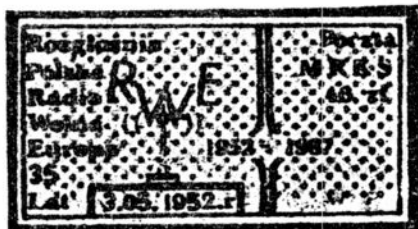
Anna Pomian

- 1 Editorial preface to "Proces MRK "S,"" Archivum Solidarnosci, NOWA, 1985.
- 2 *Ibid.*
- 3 M. Szejnert, T. Zalewski, "Szczecin. Grudzien. Sierpien. Grudzien," NOWA, 1984; reprinted by Aneks, London, 1986.
- 4 *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, no. 211, 13 May 1987, carried an extensive interview with the editors of the Solidarity Archives, on which this paper is based.

6. Solidarity "Postage Stamps" Honor RFE's 35th Anniversary

The Solidarity underground post has issued a set of stamps commemorating the 35th anniversary of the first broadcast to Poland, on 3 May 1952, of Radio Free Europe's Polish Broadcasting Service.

The set consists of two stamps with the same graphics but in different colors. One has a gold background, the other a silver one. The background is covered with small blue dots symbolizing RFE broadcasting signals; in the center there is a sketch of a microphone with the letters RWE [Radio Wolna Europa] above it. On the left are the words *Rozglosnia Polska Radio Wolna Europa 35 Lat* [Radio Free Europe Polish Broadcasting Service 35 Years]. The date 3.05.1952 appears on the stamp, as well as the years 1952-1987.



The RFE stamps have a face value of 40 zloty. They were issued by the Solidarity Interfactory Workers' Committee [Polish acronym MRKS--*Miedzyzakladowy Robotniczy Komitet "Solidarnosc"*], an association of Solidarity workers' groups in the main Warsaw factories.

Solidarity stamps first appeared during the August 1980 workers' strikes in Gdansk; they were often crude, ungummed, and imperforate. After the imposition of martial law in December 1981, stamps were produced by prisoners in internment camps. The first stamps of professional quality were issued in 1982: a set of stamps in six colors in honor of Pope John Paul II. It has been estimated that some 200 sets of stamps, each with a print run of between 5,000 and 10,000 copies, appeared underground in Poland in 1986 alone. Although Solidarity's stamps have not been recognized by international philatelic institutions, they are avidly collected both in Poland and the West. No formal underground philatelic market has been set up; the stamps are available only through personal contacts.

Solidarity publishes its stamps not only to commemorate important personalities and events but also to acquire funds to finance its activities; stamps provide a more lucrative form of revenue than the publication of underground books or papers. Since bogus underground stamps have circulated in Poland's underground, each set released by a branch of Solidarity is announced in the Polish underground press. The RFE set was

announced in June in *CDN--Glos Wolnego Robotnika*, a weekly paper published by the Warsaw Solidarity Interfactory Workers' Committee, which was also responsible for producing the stamps.

The Solidarity stamps have honored well-known personalities and events that are significant in Polish history; stamps have appeared featuring Pope John Paul II, Lech Walesa, the official registration of Solidarity, and anniversaries of wars and uprisings. By commemorating the 35th anniversary of Radio Free Europe's Polish language broadcasting, the stamps have expressed recognition of the information services provided by RFE's Polish Service over the years.

Anna Pomian

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